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Rising sun at Te Papa: the Heriot collection of Japanese art

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ABSTRACT: In 2016, the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (Te Papa) acquired more than 60 Japanese artworks from the private collection of Ian and Mary Heriot. The works make a significant addition to the graphic art collections of the national museum. Their variety and quality offer a representative overview of the art of the Japanese woodblock print, and potentially illustrate the impact of Japanese arts on those of New Zealand in appropriately conceived curatorial projects. Additionally, they inform fresh perspectives on New Zealand collecting interests during the last 40 years.

After a discussion of the history and motivations behind the collection, this article introduces a representative selection of these works, arranged according to the conventional subject categories popular with nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Japanese audiences. *Bijin-ga* pictures of beautiful women, genre scenes and *kabuki-e* popular theatre prints reflect the hedonistic re-creations of *ukiyo* 'floating world' sensibilities in the crowded streets of Edo. *Kachōga* 'bird and flower pictures' and *fukeiga* landscapes convey Japanese sensitivities to the natural world. Exquisitely printed *surimono* limited editions demonstrate literati tastes for refined poetic elegance, and *shin-hanga* 'new prints' reflect changes in sensibility through Japan's great period of modernisation. In sum, these works offer holistic appreciations of the diversity of pictorial interests, the technical and aesthetic triumphs of the polychrome woodblock print, and the emergence and ability of Japanese arts to engage international viewers today.

KEYWORDS: art collecting, Edo, Japanese art, *ukiyo-e*, *nishiki-e*, *shin-hanga*, *bijin-ga*, *kabuki-e*, *fukeiga*, *kachōga*, *surimono*.

Introduction

In 2016, the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (Te Papa) purchased an art collection predominantly of Japanese prints – just over 60 in number – but also including sumi-e (ink-wash) paintings and books, from Ian and Mary Heriot, a retired couple living in Katikati (Fig. 1). Known informally as the Heriot collection, its inspiration, general scope and selected highlights will be the main subject of this article.

Fig. 1 Mary and Ian Heriot, Katikati, 2017 (Ian Heriot).

The need to expand and invigorate Te Papa's holdings in the area up to that point seems indisputable, particularly in hindsight. The older collection could be appropriately described as small but interesting, comprising just 18 *ukiyo-e*, 'floating world pictures' from the Edo period (1603–1868). The overwhelming majority of these prints consist of small-scale *meishō-e* (pictures of famous places) by Andō Hiroshige (1797–1858), together with a smattering of depictions of the Yoshiwara licensed pleasure quarters.[1] Two further prints by Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849) are almost certainly later productions by the house of Watanabe Shōzaburōō (1885–1962), from the early twentieth century. While this body of work provided potentially useful material to inform exhibitions representing New Zealand collecting interests in the first half of the century, and perhaps even to inform trends in early modern stylistic developments of this country's artists, in itself it was of insufficient critical mass and quality to comprise a discrete, coherent exhibition. Moreover, as a representation of *ukiyo-e* in a national museum, it was manifestly inadequate.

A catholic collection

A desire to inject into Te Papa's collection a better sense of the greatest period of polychrome craft printmaking in history helped inspire the recent acquisition. But there are other remarkable aspects to the Heriot collection itself that also commended it. First and foremost, the scale of the collection in its entirety made it possibly the most extensive one of its kind in private hands in New Zealand in the twenty-first century. Quantitatively, above and beyond Te Papa's selections, it surpasses the public collections in the Auckland Libraries, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki and MTG Hawke's Bay. In turn, it interestingly complements Canterbury Museum's impressively catholic holdings and the great masterpieces (notably Hokusai's *Thirty-six Views of Fuji*) in the Dunedin Public Art Gallery, with its strength in later print movements.

Indeed, the Heriot collection represents the temporal scope of Japanese print histories, from early monochrome illustrative matter, through to the crystallisation of polychrome *nishiki-e* 'brocade pictures' by Suzuki Harunobu (1724–70) and Isoda Koryūsai (1735–90), the emergence of subject specialisations in *bijin-ga* 'pictures of beautiful women', *kacho-e* 'bird and flower' compositions, *kabuki-e* theatre pictures and actor representations, and Meiji era *shin-hanga* 'new picture' print revivals, and extending to early twentieth-century picturesque *meishō-e* landscape and genre scenes. The collection embraces almost every format of print, from the printed book, exercises in drawing and learning, *hashira-e* pillar prints and *kakemono-e* vertical scroll prints, the predominant *ōban* single-sheet format (although sometimes joined and forming diptychs or triptychs), to the highly refined art of the *surimono*, 'rubbed thing' limited-edition poetic print, an area of particular fondness for Ian Heriot.[2] Within this rich field, we can trace the technical developments of woodblock printing, the emergence and sustenance of a school system in the Katsukawa and Utagawa schools, and the development of stylistic characteristics of decorative elegance, complemented by technical virtuosity.

The Heriot collection not only provides rich insights into more than two centuries of the craft, history and aesthetic sensibilities of Japanese popular arts in all their variety, but it also reflects the shifting tides of Japanese and Western intercourse before, during and beyond the turning point of the Meiji Restoration (1867–68). The international significance of Japanese arts during this period is evident in the patterns of collecting in New Zealand, which were consistent with those in western Europe and North America. The Heriots form part of a tradition of collecting Japanese print matter in New Zealand established early on by Sir George Grey (1812–98), continued into the early twentieth century by Sir Joseph Kinsey (1852–1936) and more recently – up to the 1970s – through the development of extensive private collections, especially in Canterbury, by Francis Shurrock (1887–1977), Keith Mosheim (1919–87), Gordon McArthur (1925–2010), Ronald J. Scarlett (1911–2002), and Greggory Kane (1921–78), many of whose items were subsequently dispersed to public institutions.[3]

Ian Heriot as a collector

Before examining specific areas of the collection, it is important to provide personal insights into the Heriots themselves, and their 'ruling passion' as collectors. Te Papa aims to bring out 'the people, places and ideas that have shaped New Zealand',[4] and here they do not disappoint. Although Mary Heriot has herself in recent years become an enthusiastic collector of Japanese ceramics and has, on occasion, good-naturedly reined in her husband's ambitions to make still further purchases, Ian Heriot has largely driven and defined the collection. He bought his first Japanese prints from a Takapuna second-hand shop in 1979, which included *Actor Posing with a Sword* (*c.* 1835) by Utagawa

Kunisada (Utagawa Toyokuni III) (1786–1865), subsequently purchased by Te Papa.[5] A professional firefighter, then in his early 40s, and a father of three from a Scottish working-class background, Ian had no grounding in art other than a modest commercial interest in antique European furniture. Neither, till then, did he have any knowledge of *ukiyo-e* and admits, 'I was naive enough to think I had stumbled on a new form of art when I saw these prints.'[6] His funds were limited, but his enthusiasm was not.

Although he would never classify himself 'as any sort of an intellectual', Ian's curiosity was immediately fired by the prints and his interest in the area steadily deepened. Becoming seriously acquainted with the field 'took a bit of study. I got a print, I took it home and I worked on the print … and it gradually came to mind that I couldn't find another example.' Establishing its rarity, perhaps even uniqueness, was 'quietly enjoyable' for Ian. He found it surprising that many others did not operate the same way: 'It amazes me when I've struck some collectors of Japanese art [who] don't feel the need to learn anything about it.'[7] Heriot was necessarily an autodidact – there was never a critical mass of scholars or collectors in New Zealand, even in Auckland, where he spent his nearly 30 years of his working life – who shared his interest. Through the years, he has built up a substantial library of more than 500 books on Japanese history, art and travel. His immersion in things Japanese – including an ability to work out titles, names and other relevant words on the prints – was accompanied by an increasingly discerning eye towards expansion of the collection. A reflection of the respect in which he is now held in the field is his and Mary's role as long-standing moderators for the discussion board of Gotheborg.com, which advises collectors on Japanese and Chinese antique porcelain.[8] Leading dealers in prints, such as Sandra Andacht and Robyn Buntin, are well known to the Heriots and vice versa.

Perhaps Ian was able to use his isolation to his own advantage when dealers – probably best left unnamed – 'did not have a clue' about what was hanging on their walls. As he explains, 'Most dealers in New Zealand can look at something and say, "That's a Japanese print", and they may be able to identify a Kuniyoshi or a Hokusai … but if it's off the beaten track, the slightest bit, they're lost.' Sometimes a dealer can have a glut of uninteresting prints: 'Peter Webb rang me up and said, "Would you give me some idea of what these prints are?" So, I went in and there were around about 150, all individually framed, and they were all of beautiful women [*bijin-ga*]. I went through the whole lot and he said to me, "What do you think of them?" I said, "For what they are, they are quite decorative and nice, but I wouldn't take one of them home." Because they were just a trend, these were churned out … most of those pretty girl things were churned out as ads.' In contrast, Ian looks out for 'an unusual subject, or a subject that's portrayed in a particular way. I never set out to buy the average, pretty Japanese print.'[9]

More often than not, it was the scarcity of high-quality or interesting prints that frustrated Ian, who operated on a limited budget and, for the first 20 years, in a pre-Internet world. Opportunities to buy from the catalogues of offshore dealers such as Hotei in the Netherlands were frustratingly limited, as by the time these reached New Zealand, the desired print – in many cases unaffordable anyway – was already sold. Ian made a virtue of necessity by acquiring the overwhelming majority of his collection nationally, and this made genuine finds all the more exciting. Japanese arts had enjoyed great popularity with New Zealand collectors during the early twentieth century, and went through a resurgence in the late 1940s, but their market presence had waned by the 1980s. One highlight was when Ian, driving through Parnell, screeched to a stop when he noticed a humble pavement vendor who had original-edition Harunobu and Koryūsai prints for sale. This was a rare moment when he sacrificed his normal requirement for a print in at least fair condition in favour of the famous name, knowing the extreme scarcity of such works worldwide. Ian claims, with no false modesty, 'Considering the funding basis behind me, which was virtually nil, and a certain amount of thoughtfulness going into the collecting of these prints, I think I've put together a collection that won't readily be done again.'[10]

Collector's choices

Ian Heriot asserts, 'I'd like to think that I'm a reasonably careful buyer of prints. They've got to have an aesthetic that I immediately appreciate.'[11] This matters more to him than genre, period, style or format. It is therefore not surprising that the magisterial and essentially canonical approaches maintained through the generations by authorities such as Arthur Davison Ficke (1883–1945), Richard Lane (1926–2002) and, to a lesser extent, Frank Whitford (1941–2014) have little traction for Ian.[12] From an early stage he was attracted to considerably later Meiji era prints and early to mid-twentieth-century *shin-hanga* prints, especially those by Hasui Kawase (1883–1957). Indeed, given the choice again, he says, 'I think I'd replace a large part of my collection with early *shin-hanga* if I could afford them.' Yet he is essentially

pragmatic, knowing what he likes. More than once, Utagawa Kuniyoshi's (1798–1861) intensely moving Edo period double-*ōban* composition depicting the *seppuku* (ritual disembowelling) of Lord En'ya came up in conversation as a personal favourite from the collection (see Fig. 7). At the same time, he 'love[s] the format of the *hashira-e*.' For Te Papa, Ian recommends, not without a little humour: 'If I had unlimited funds I'd get more *hashira*; I'd seek better-quality ones that still retain their colour. I consider myself very fortunate to have had five of them in the first place.'[13]

A collection overview

The core section of this article provides an overview of the diverse sections of the Heriot collection. The authors have selected approximately one-third of Te Papa's acquisitions to help convey some sense of its scope and quality. Perfect classification is not easy, and the overview is accordingly divided into subject categories that offer a convenient framework for the observations that follow. Respectively, they comprise *bijin-ga*, *kabuki-e*, *fukeiga*, *meishō-e*, *kachōga* themes, genre subjects, images from history and literature, *surimono*, illustrated books and, finally, a small number of what might be termed 'curios', two *sumi-e* and a small silk painting, all of animals.

Bijin-ga

Bijin-ga, 'beautiful women pictures', were among the most popular categories of the *ukiyo-e* repertoire. Twelve works in the Heriot collection illustrate the historical development of *bijin-ga*, from the contrived elegance of the late eighteenth century to the sentimentality of Meiji period illustration. Harunobu's *Ide no Tamagawa: Yamashiro no meishō* (*The Crystal River at Ide: A famous spot in Yamashiro*) (1769–70), illustrates the flowering of *nishiki-e* 'brocade print' polychrome printing during the 1760s, and the adoption of the tall *hashira-e* format that enhanced the floating, lissome elegance of his figures. Kitagawa Utamaro's (1753–1806) mannered portrait of the *oiran* 'courtesan' Ichikawa (1790–1800) sustains Harunobu's chromatic sensibility, but exaggerates the figure's sensuous elongation beyond

Fig. 2 (right) *Two Women Reading*, *c.* 1780–90, *hashira-e* (pillar print) colour woodblock print, 905 x 250 mm. Artist Isoda Koryūsai (Te Papa 2016-0008-23).

anatomic reason. Just under a century later, these works provided irresistible models for the decadent and grotesque creations of Aubrey Beardsley (1872–98).[14]

Figures of the 1830s by Keisai Eisen (1790–1848) celebrate the decorative in arrangements of opulent ornament and the adoption of the *aizuri-e*, 'blue-favouring picture', trend of the time. By the mid-nineteenth century, Utagawa Sadahide's (1807–73) *Shadow of a Smoker* (1850–60) presented viewers with more refined decoration and believable figure arrangements. Later Meiji period *shin-hanga* 'new print' revival *bijin-ga* by Mizuno Toshikata (1866–1908) and Miyagawa Shuntei (1873–1914) represent women and children in domestic or recreational settings in tour de force demonstrations of the printer's craft and take full advantage of the synthetic dyes that were then available.

Four prints illustrate key stages in these developments. Koryūsai drew on the pictorial innovations of Harunobu, embracing his soft colour and polychrome decoration, and his fondness for the word and picture collisions of *mitate-e* 'parody pictures'.[15] Koryūsai was fascinated by the creative challenges of the difficult *hashira-e* format, designing more than 450 prints – nearly 40% of all extant works of this type.[16] He adopted principles for arranging figures and minimal contextualising features (landscape references, architecture, branches or clouds) that have their sources in Chinese and Heian period (794–1185) *kakemono* 'vertical scroll' painting precedents. In Fig. 2, a hanging plant container with loquat tendrils and a stylised cloud (*kumogata*) balance the mirroring forms of the two women below. The contrast between the women's overlapping heads, shoulders and hems, and the striking negative spaces between their heads, shoulders and lower bodies, constructs a deliciously energising tension between them. The delicately contrived juxtapositions emphasise both sensual and poignant sensibilities that Koryūsai's viewers could readily relate to the *iki* 'provocative-chic' ideals of the licensed pleasure quarters. Such two-figure constructions particularly appealed to Koryūsai. He arranged his figures side by side, in climbing arrangements of alternating diagonal edges or even stacking them vertically in the composition.[17]

The contemporary popularity of Koryūsai's *hashira-e* was acknowledged by Saitō Gesshin (1804–78) in his *Zōho ukiyo-e ruikō* (*Enlarged history of ukiyo-e prints*) (1844).[18] The inventive potentials of the form underpinned this popularity, but more subtle forces were also at play here. *Hashira-e* were often mounted as *kakemono* scrolls, adorned with the artists' seals used for paintings, and hung in *tokonoma* 'display alcoves'. As 'inexpensive substitutes for *kakemono*', they offered owners 'an experience of visual culture normally reserved for the higher classes or the wealthy'.[19] Koryūsai's subtle glimpses of ankles, wrists or a décolletage introduced a voyeuristic sense of intimacy, enhanced by the way the narrow format suggested a furtive glimpse through a partly opened sliding door or screen.[20] These qualities drew

Fig. 3 *Three Women Viewing Cherry Blossom on a Riverbank*, *c.* 1850, three-*ōban*-sheet colour woodblock print triptych, 567 x 1074 mm (total). Artist Utagawa Kunisada (Te Papa 2016-0008-33).

his viewers into playful engagements, encouraging their constructions of imaginary narratives around his pictorial suggestions.[21]

If Koryūsai capitalised on suggestion, intimacy or imaginative engagement, the *bijin-ga* of Kunisada (Fig. 3) adopt an altogether more pragmatic attitude. Kunisada's three women are *yūjo*, 'women for play', from Edo's licensed pleasure quarters, engaged in a *hanami* (daytime viewing) of *sakura* (cherry blossom). The association between beautiful young women and *sakura* resonated themes of the ephemerality of beauty and youth that inform a sensibility of *mono no aware*, a sensitivity to the pathos of things. The enclosed pleasure craft in the background reminded viewers of the riverside sex trade and the fleeting nature of pleasure. The triptych format encouraged viewers to make comparisons between these well-known women of the highly competitive world of the pleasure quarters, while promoting trends in fashion and textile design. Although it risks being anachronistic and Eurocentric to call this triptych 'Baudelairian', the eponymous French critic, writing not

Fig. 4 *Yuagari: Kansei koro fujin (After the Bath: Woman of the Kansei era (1789–1801)*), no. 4 in the series *Sanjū-rokukasen* (*Thirty-six Types of Beauty*), published from 1891 (1893), *nishiki*-e colour woodblock print, 371 x 247 mm. Artist Toshikata Mizuno (Te Papa 2016-0008-50).

long after the time it was printed but located a world away, would surely have admired Kunisada's ability to recapture 'the circumstantial element' of beauty, embodying 'the age, its fashions, its morals, its emotions'.[22]

Toshikata Mizuno's (1866–1908) *bijin-ga* reflect changes in the status and craft of the woodblock print during the Meiji era. The survival of the medium through this period is surprising; its technical capacities were surpassed by those of photography, lithography and photogravure. The woodblock retained important roles in the publication industry, however. Its accommodation of colour and representational licence allowed Toshikata to compose dramatic celebrations of Japanese successes in the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–95),[23] for example, and to design delicate *kuchi-e* frontispiece (literally 'mouth picture') and *sashi-e* 'inserted illustrations' for romantic novels and newspapers like *Yamato Shimbun*.[24] Where Kunisada's works seem detached, Toshikata's illustrations are sentimental and a little ethereal. The former quality reflects the tenor of contemporary popular literature, the latter the fluid transparency of Satsuma porcelain painting, in which Toshikata had trained. His works also maintain sensibilities from earlier eras.[25] The casual intimacy of his view of a woman after the bath (Fig. 4) echoes the provocative chic sensibility of the Edo ethos of *iki*. The presence of the cat, celebrated in Japan as an emblem of good luck and protection, reinforces the viewer's sense of familiarity here. Toshikata's intimate scenes provide evocative, atmospheric contexts for representations of pensive figures.[26] His Kansei era (1789–1801) woman seems quietly melancholic, lost in her own thoughts in a moment of private reverie.

The delicacy of Toshikata's romantic figures demanded the most refined craftsmanship. This technical tour de force also enriches the prints of Shuntei (Fig. 5) in *bokashi* colour gradations, applications of mica, metallic pigments and *shomen-zuri* burnishing. The collection contains three gorgeous triptych designs by Shuntei, each a composition from his 1898 series *Bijin junikagetsu* (*Beautiful Women for the Twelve Months*), representing January to February, March and October. Like Toshikata, Shuntei spent periods training in the studios of *ukiyo-e* designers, and his principal occupation was as an illustrator for newspapers, magazines and books. His delicate subjects are set in evocative atmospheric landscapes, and their women and children reflect a meeting of the *bijin-ga* fashion statements of the past, and the family values and accoutrements (such as the umbrella illustrated in Fig. 5) of a Western-style modernity in Japan.[27] In some ways, these compositions draw on *Yamato-e* 'Japanese picture' genre traditions, but their focus on family groups and leisure activities offers delightful views of late Meiji optimism.

These works also juxtapose the beauty of nature with

Fig. 5 *Bijin junikagetsu* (*Beautiful Women for the Twelve Months*): *Number 10 – Koyo (October)*, 1898, three-*ōban*-sheet colour woodblock print triptych, 376 x 717 mm (total). Artist Miyagawa Shuntei (Te Papa 2016-0008-49).

the fragile beauty of women and children. Their subjects draw on pastimes of garden viewing that date back to the Heian era. In doing so they sustain a sensitivity to seasonal transience that evoked nostalgic aesthetic sensibilities. The reverence for nature evident in these works appealed equally to early New Zealand visitors to Japan: Isabella and Frederic Truby King collected such works during their visit in 1904.[28] This popularity contrasts with Shuntei's reputation in Japan, where his works were enjoyed as ephemera, but then ignored and even lost. Only recently, certainly well beyond the artist's brief lifetime, has their status within Japan appreciably risen, thanks to the attention of 'offshore' scholars such as Helen Merritt and Julia Meech-Pekarik.

Kabuki-e

The popular art form of printmaking found a comfortable commercial partner in kabuki theatre. *Kabuki-e* theatre pictures promoted productions in the highly competitive theatre world, celebrated the actors and characters of kabuki narratives, and reconstructed their Byzantine plots in serial print sequences. The Heriot collection includes 12 prints with kabuki-related themes: seven portraits of actors in role and five narrative scenes. They include works by the Osaka artist Ryūsai Shigeharu (1802–53), and Edo artists Kunisada, Kuniyoshi, Eisen, Sadanobu Hasegawa III (1881–1963) and Shunsen Natori (1886–1960). Six prints illustrate one play of special importance in the kabuki repertoire: *Kanadehon chūshingura* (*The treasury of loyal retainers*) (1748). *Chūshingura* is a vendetta tale. Its popularity drew on its origins in real historical events that culminated in the vendetta of the 47 *rōnin* in 1703, and its values of loyalty and honour. Its 11 acts accommodate the theatrical gamut, from heart-rending love stories, to grisly murders, earthy sub-plots and bloody battles.[29]

Narrative representations of *Chūshingura* usually followed the theatrical structure closely, each print representing a key scene from a particular act of the play. Characters were generally arranged in the highly expressive *mie*, or 'frozen poses', that punctuated each scene. Although they illustrated only a single dramatic moment, these images offered sufficient information for knowledgeable fans – and there were many – to reconstruct the surrounding events in their imaginations. The opening act of the play relates the events leading to the humiliation of a young En'ya Hangan (historically Asano Naganori, Lord of Akō, 1667–1701) by the *kōke* 'high-house' court official Kō no Moronao (Kira Yoshinaka, 1641–1703). The subsequent episodes reveal the narrative that then unfolded.

The first of four prints by Eisen represents a key moment in Act II, '*Momonoi no yashiki*' ('At Momonoi's mansion') (Fig. 6). Moronao's slight had been severe; Momonoi Wakasanosuke, on the right-hand side of the composition,

Fig. 6 *Kanadehon Chūshingura. Act II: Momonoi no yashiki: matsu-kiri* (*At Momonoi's Mansion: Cutting the pine*), *c.* 1820, *ōban* colour woodblock print, 282 x 360 mm. Artist Keisai Eisen (Te Papa 2016-0008-2)

Fig. 7 *Kanadehon Chūshingura. Act IV: Seppuku of Lord En'ya*, 1850, double-*ōban* colour woodblock print, 500 x 595 mm. Artist Utagawa Kuniyoshi (Te Papa 2016-0008-37).

has vowed to avenge his friend. At far left we see Ōboshi Rikiya, son of the play's hero, Ōboshi Yuranosuke, arriving with a message from Hangan to Wakasanosuke. He and his fiancée, Konami, watch as Wakasanosuke's retainer, Honzō, pledges support for his master, seizing his sword and dramatically slashing a branch of pine. He replaces the blade in its scabbard uncleaned, so that the sap on the blade would prevent Momonoi drawing it in anger and shaming himself. The other Eisen compositions illustrate Act III, '*Kamakura denchu Ashikaga-yakata monzen-no-ba*' ('Before the gate of the Ashikaga Palace at Kamakura'); Act VI, '*Kanpei sumika*' ('At the dwelling of Kanpei'); and Act VIII, '*Tōkaidōō michiyuki*' ('The journey along the Tōkaidō')

In Act III, Wakasanosuke and Hangan are invited to festivities at the Ashikaga Palace in Kamakura. Hangan, again goaded by Moronao, draws his sword and attacks the senior official. Hangan is sentenced to take his own life by performing *seppuku*. Kuniyoshi's illustration for Act IV focuses on the final moments of Hangan's life (Fig. 7). The setting is his own home – identifiable by the striking *mon* (emblems) of crossed feathers on a blue field. At right are the kneeling figures of the shogun's envoys, Ishidō and Yakushiji. In the rear, Hangan's retainers Hara Gōemon and Ono Kudayū witness the event. You can hear a pin drop. Hangan kneels left of centre, on a white quilt, with *sakura* at each corner. His chief retainer, Yuranosuke, receives his master's dying wish: to avenge the wrong that has been done. Kuniyoshi's claustrophobic composition is tightly grouped. Its sober arrangements of white, umber, blue and black, and its refined printing, including *shomen-zuri* 'polished ink' details, compellingly emphasise the gravity of the moment. The stage is set for the narrative

Fig. 8 *Actor in the Role of Hayano Kanpei in the Kanadehon Chūshingura*, 1854, *ōban* colour woodblock print, 535 x 380 mm. Artist Utagawa Kunisada (Te Papa 2016-0008-30).

in which Yuranosuke leads 46 of Hangan's loyal retainers towards the final, violent enactment of their vendetta.

Kunisada's portrait of the retainer Hayano Kanpei (Fig. 8) presents the character frozen in a dramatic *mie* pose, feet heel to heel, huddled under the rain, and looking wistfully to his left. His attitude is significant; Kanpei occupies an ambivalent place in the *Chūshingura* narrative. His neglect of his duties in Act II was a contributing factor to Hangan's fate, and he flew to the countryside in shame. Later, he vowed to support the loyal league, allowing his father-in-law, Yoichibei, to sell his daughter Okaru to a Gion brothel to raise money to support the vendetta. In this scene from Act V, he is seen just at the moment when he thinks he has shot a man while hunting in the forest. Later, believing he has killed Yoichibei, he too commits *seppuku* just as his honour is reconfirmed. *Chūshingura* was so popular that Kunisada's viewers would have had little difficulty in recognising the reasons for Kanpei's quizzical gaze.

Natori's portrait of the actor Morita Kan'ya XIV (1907–

75) illustrates two further characteristics of *ukiyo-e* theatre prints (Fig. 9). First, it is an *okubi-e*, or 'big-head picture'. The close-up format allowed artists to design recognisable portraits of actors in key roles or expressive poses. Second, artists of the early twentieth-century *shin-hanga* revival retained the services of skilled block cutters and printers, and redefined the stylistic tropes of the genre. Natori maintains the Japanese-style idioms that he had learned while studying *Nihonga*, 'Japanese painting', under Kubota Beisen (1852–1906), Kubota Kinsen (1875–1954) and Hirafuku Hyakusui (1877–1933).[30] His *shin nigao-e*, 'new actor portraits', in the *okubi-e* format are recognisable but finely stylised, their simply delineated subjects positioned against plain, sometimes textured, backgrounds.[31] Natori's prints were popular with his Japanese public, but they reflected another departure in Japanese print publication, commanding a parallel appeal in the markets of North America.

Fig. 9 *Morita Kanya as Kitsune Tadanobu in the Play Yoshitsune senbonzakura (Yoshitsune and the Thousand Cherry Trees)*, 1952, *ōban* colour woodblock print, 392 x 273 mm. Artist Shunsen Natori (Te Papa 2016-0008-46).

Fukeiga

North American viewers were equally receptive to *shin-hanga fukeiga*, 'landscape compositions', especially after the seminal Toledo Museum of Art exhibitions of the 1930s.[32] The Heriot collection includes nine *shin-hanga* landscapes, by Narazaki Eishō (1864–1936), Kasamatsu Shirō (1898–1991), Hiroshi Yoshida (1876–1950), Takahashi Hiroaki (Shōtei, 1871–1945), Bannai Kōkan (1900–63) and Hasui. These complement Te Papa's holdings of landscape prints by Hokusai, Andō Hiroshige and Hiroshige II (Shigenobu, 1826–69). The quietly evocative seasonal themes of these later Meiji and Taishō era landscape views reflect Ian Heriot's personal preferences, especially as they developed in the later years of his collecting. They presented opportunities to acquire prints in fine condition, and their less theatrical ambience seems consistent with the attitudes of humility that suffuse Heriot's own account of his collecting.[33] These works reflect the tastes for fine craftsmanship, naturalistic composition and nostalgia for timeless rural themes that emerged during these eras. They also embrace Western devices of chiaroscuro and atmospheric and linear perspective in naturalistic compositions that appealed to the Japanese and Western public alike.

Fig. 10 *Asakusa Sensōji daichōchin* (*The Great Lantern of the Sensō Temple, Asakusa*), 1934, *ōban* colour woodblock print, 385 x 265 mm. Artist Kasamatsu Shirō (Te Papa 2016-0008-19).

Temples and shrines were popular subjects for *shin-hanga* artists. These prints maintained traditions of *meishō-e* and were often acquired by visitors to well-known centres. Sensō-ji (Asakusa Kannon Temple) was exceptionally popular, attracting huge crowds, especially during the new year. Shirō's view (Fig. 10) focuses on its shop, where visitors could purchase such *meishō-e*, together with votive prints and other souvenirs. Although Shirō had studied *Nihonga* under Kaburagi Kiyokata (1878–1972), and also woodblock printing,[34] this print reveals his wider interest in Western-style art in his adoptions of linear and atmospheric perspective, diminutions of scale, and effects of light to describe the dimly lit ambience of the interior.

Fig. 11 *Sōchūō Maekawa no ame* (*Rain in Maekawa, Sōchūō*, from the series *Tōkaidōō fūkei senshū (Selection of Views of the Tōkaidō)*, 1932, *ōban* colour woodblock print, 388 x 262 mm. Artist Hasui Kawase (Te Papa 2016-008-11).

Hasui's atmospheric *fukeiga* achieved international popularity. His poignant view of a figure walking at night in pouring rain (Fig. 11) was one of his own favourite works.[35] In Hasui's own words, 'I love quiet scenes with the shadow of loneliness hanging over them'.[36] He emphasised that sense of solitude by manipulating relations of scale and pictorial depth, and through the subtle *bokashi* modulations of light and colour he had learned through his study of the *kōsen-ga*, 'light pictures', of his teacher Kobayashi Kiyochika (1847–1915).[37] The lyrical sense of loneliness of Hasui's works is enhanced by his depiction of nostalgic subjects in rural settings, often represented at night, dawn or sunset. Underpinning these qualities are five conceptual foundations: a belief in the inspirational potential of nature; an appreciation of the power of atmospheric effects to suggest ephemerality; the importance of poetic moods of 'tranquillity or contemplation'; the source of a Japanese sense of identity in values and sensibilities of the past; and the capacity of 'beauty', especially that of nature, for 'expressing aesthetic, social, philosophical and even spiritual beliefs'.[38]

Hasui realised these concepts in quiet constructions of ordinary, unremarkable scenes[39] that juxtapose a sense of transience and melancholy with timeless qualities of tranquillity and peace.[40]

Kachōga

A reverence for nature also found a sympathetic medium in *kachōga* or *kachō-e*, 'bird and flower pictures'. *Kachōga* embraces the wider natural history field of insects, fish and larger animals.[41] The genre has a long pedigree in Japan, maintaining metaphoric associations – the crane (*tsuru*) signifying longevity, for example, and the swallow (*tsubame*) suggesting good fortune.[42] Though these associations survive today, twentieth-century artists favoured these subjects because they afforded intimate insights into the profound beauty of nature.

The Heriot collection includes seven *kachōga*. Five bird compositions by Ohara Koson (also signing as Shōson and Hoson; 1877–1945), published by Watanabe Shōzabūro between 1927 and 1937, include images of egrets, an eagle, a cockatoo and a pair of godwits. Two flower pictures by Kawarazaki Shōdō (1889–1973) were published by Unsōdōō in the mid-1950s. The Koson compositions are surprisingly varied – at turns delicately elegant, majestic or whimsical. An intimate view of the godwits wading in front of gently windblown reeds exemplifies the artist's painterly style, and the gentle naturalism of his *kachōga* (Fig. 12).

Fig. 12 *Two Bar-tailed Godwits in Shallow Waters Next to Reeds*, 1926, *ōban* colour woodblock print, 395 x 265 mm. Artist Ohara Koson (Te Papa 2016-0008-28).

Fig. 13 *Peonies*, 1955, *ōban* colour woodblock print, 400 x 270 mm. Artist Kawarazaki Shōdō (Te Papa 2016-0008-21).

The painterly quality is evident in this work in the *mogu*, 'boneless' technique (i.e. without outlines), the single, fluid brushstroke seen here in each leaf in the rushes, and the rippling water. Together with the transparency of his pigment and muted palette, these qualities draw on Koson's study of Maruyama-Shijō school painting under Suzuki Kason (1860–1919).[43] Koson began designing *kachōga* early in his career and completed more than 450 bird compositions.[44] The majority represented familiar species like the godwits shown here – humble subjects that encouraged a quiet, introspective engagement from his viewers. Their carefully contrived naturalism[45] and painterly effects demanded the finest craftsmanship of his printers. The combination was appealing, and his works found international popularity.

Where Koson's works were soft, painterly and atmospheric, the flower designs of Shōdō were crisp, sharply delineated and botanically correct (Fig. 13).[46] In some ways,

Fig. 14 *Shin yoshiwara sakura no keshiki gomai tsuzuki* (*Cherry Blossoms in the New Yoshiwara*), 1811, *ōban nishiki-e* woodblock print, 503 x 371 mm. Artist Utagawa Toyokuni (Te Papa 2016-0008-53).

their fine observation drew on *kachōga* precedents; earlier flower prints often had their botanical detail clearly labelled like textbook diagrams. In Shōdō's designs, however, their precision is complemented by a decorative linear elegance. Barely a decade later, but in a very different cosmos, finely wrought idioms like these would be adopted by the flower-power poster designers of Haight-Ashbury.

Genre subjects

Ukiyo-e artists drew on the conventions of *Yamato-e* scenes of daily life; in early commentaries, *ukiyo-e* was defined largely in terms of these preoccupations. A small group of works in the Heriot collection represent the human fabric of Edo. Utagawa Toyokuni's (1769–1825) representations were much enjoyed for their *nigao-e* 'true-view' realism. The springtime setting of the rightmost print of a pentaptych by Toyokuni (Fig. 14) suggests that the other panels recorded the carefully choreographed procession of the *oiran dochu*. The *dochu* was performed four times during the year, to coincide with the change of the seasons. It offered the women of the Yoshiwara licensed quarters a rare opportunity to move beyond their cloistered worlds, and the public a chance to view beauties much celebrated in *bijin-ga* prints. In this instance, *oiran* courtesans, their 'younger sister' *kamuro* and *yūjo* prostitutes are jostled by touts, a delivery boy and *norimono* 'palanquin' carriers as they pass through Yoshiwara Ōmon, the Great Gate of Yoshiwara. Toyokuni's viewers would have delighted in the carefully observed variety of dress, pose and gesture of each character in the composition.

Fig. 15 *Tango no sekku* (*Boys' Festival Procession Across the Nihonbashi Bridge*), 1843–45, three-*ōban*-sheet colour woodblock print triptych, 361 x 771 mm (total). Artist Utagawa Kuninao (Te Papa 2016-0008-29).

Festivals, whether celebrating the seasons, anniversaries of temples and shrines, or other significant events, provided entertaining subjects. *Tango no sekku*, the Boys' Festival, was long celebrated on 5 May to pray for the health and courage of boys. Today, although its commemoration is embraced in *Kodomo no hi*, Children's Day, boys still often enjoy special favour. Continuing in the Utagawa school *nigao-e* tradition, the little-known Utagawa Kuninao (1793–1854) adopts an *ōban* triptych format to capture the dynamic force of a crowd of ebullient boys rushing across the Great Bridge of Japan (Fig. 15). The different boys' clubs are indicated by their distinctive *happi* jackets and decorative lanterns. More inventively, however, Kuninao has managed to describe a different facial expression for every single figure, while conveying the headlong, careering excitement of all.

Viewers would have laughed outright at the sight of Utagawa Hirokage's (active 1855–65) hapless group (Fig. 16), delighting in the slapstick humour of their ineffectual responses to the gusts that have thrown them – and their possessions – into disarray. It could be said that this is a particularly pertinent choice for a Wellington collection! On looking closely, however, viewers might have found a more nuanced pleasure as they noticed that Hirokage's composition was a pastiche of one of his master Hiroshige's famous views of Edo, and the flying objects have in turn been purloined from compositions by Hokusai. Although Hirokage may not be the most original of artists, and the rendition of detail here seems clumsy, works like these offer today's viewers more immediate gratification than earlier,

Fig. 16 *Shin-Ōhashi no ōkaze* (*Strong Wind on Shinhashi Bridge*), from the series *Edo meishō dōke zukushi* (*Comical Views of Famous Places in Edo*), 1859, *ōban* colour woodblock print, 367 x 246 mm. Artist Utagawa Hirokage (Te Papa 2016-0008-13).

canonical Edo constructions ever allowed. In turn, viewers of the period could surely see themselves in any of these works, appreciate the specific situations described in each, and recognise the social crush of this, the busiest and most populous city in Japan.

Images from history and literature

Complex threads of superstition and supernatural phenomena provided popular motifs for artists and the Edo populace. The narrative in the cartouche at the top of the composition seen in Fig. 17 explains the pictorial scene: 'Hanako is the wife of Major General Yoshida Korefusa. She chased her lost son Umewakamaru, wandering around in eastern countries [i.e. the Kanto region] and by the Sumida River she found the figure of her son. Overjoyed, she tried to say something to him; then, the figure turned into a willow tree.'[47] Utagawa Yoshiiku's (1833–1904) view of the figure of Hanako and Umewakamaru at the moment of his transformation reflects a widely held 'belief in lingering spirits'[48] caught in a suspended state between the world in which we live (*kono-yo*) and the world beyond (*ano-yo*). This liminality, evident in Japan in the Jizō motif, recognises a state in which 'the soul is perceived not as transitory; death even constitutes a kind of aesthetic, in spite of one's abhorrence of the process'.[49] That sensitivity suffuses the Heian narrative of *Genji monogatari* (*The tale of Genji*). The yellow cartouche at upper right in Yoshiiku's print carries the series title and characters for chapter 39, '*Yūgiri*' ('Evening mist'), of *Genji monogatari*. Curiously, however, the *Genji-mon* (chapter logo) on the green 'page' behind this cartouche are for chapter 21, '*Otome*' ('The maiden'). Unsurprisingly, neither chapter refers to the narrative included in Yoshiiku's work – the respected calligrapher and senior court minister Fujiwara no Korefusa (1030–96) in the tale was born two decades after the original publication of the novel.

Fig. 17 *Yoshida no hanako (Hanako, Yoshida's Wife), Chapter 39 Yūgiri (Evening Mist), from the series Imayō nazorae Genji (Modern Parodies of Genji)*, 1864, *ōban* colour woodblock print, 358 x 232 mm. Artist Utagawa Yoshiiku (Te Papa 2016-0008-58).

Two Kunisada *bijin-ga* illustrate the links that Edo *chōnin*, 'townsmen', maintained with the classical past of the Heian court. In each, a small portrait of a poet and lines of verse on two playing cards at upper left refer to the game popular in middle-class domestic settings and brothel worlds alike, where players match halves of poems. In the example shown in Fig. 18, the short *waka* verses are from the famous Heian collection *Hyakunin isshu* (*One hundred poems by one hundred poets*). The scroll cartouche at upper right contains a biographical note about the poet Chūnagon Ōtomo no Yakamochi (718–785), editor of the *Man'yōshū* verse collection (*c.* 759) and one of the Thirty-six Poetic Immortals. The poem reads:

kasasagi no
wataseru hashi ni
oku shimo no
shiroku wo mireba
yo zo fukenikeru

When I see the whiteness
of the frost that lies
on the bridge the magpies spread,
then do I know, indeed,
that the night has deepened[50]

Fig. 18 (left) *Poet no. 6: Chūnagon (Ōtomo no) Yakamochi*, from the series *Hyakunin isshu* (*One Hundred poems by one hundred poets*), *c.* 1844, *ōban* colour woodblock print, 378 x 259 mm. Artist Utagawa Kunisada (Te Papa 2016-0008-34).

The juxtaposition of a classical verse with the image of a *yūjo* brothel-quarter woman throughout this series may seem incongruous, but women of the Yoshiwara were expected to have a knowledge of classical verse and to embrace it into the verbal intercourse of their engagements. During the nineteenth century they also adopted other Heian habits, particularly in mannerisms of dress and deportment.

Kunisada's fellow Utagawa school student Kuniyoshi was as versatile as his contemporary. Subsequently, however, Kuniyoshi's warrior scenes from historical narratives like *Heike monogatari* (*The tale of the Heike*)[51] have received the closest attention. His dramatic *Ujigawa gassen no zue* woodcut (Fig. 19) depicts events early on New Year's Day 1184 in the second battle of Uji River (near Kyoto) during the Genpei War (1180–85) between the Minamoto (Genji) and Heike (Taira) clans. The Heike victor in the first battle of Uji River had been the rebel Minamoto leader Yoshinaka (1154–84), fighting against his own clan members. Here, four years later, the Minamoto forces strike back. Minamoto Lord Yoritomo (1147–99) has gifted two steeds, the pure-

Fig. 19 *Ujigawa gassen no zue* (*The Battle at Uji River*), 1849, three-*ōban*-sheet colour woodblock print triptych, 1104 x 368 mm (total). Artist Utagawa Kuniyoshi (Te Papa 2016-0008-38).

black horse Surusumi (Ink-stick) to the general Kajiwara Genda Kagesue (1162–1200), and the chestnut Ikezuki (Ill-tempered Biter) to Sasaki Shirō Takatsuna (1160–1214). Takatsuna rashly claimed he would be first across the river.[52] Here, Kagesue is depicted on the left-hand sheet; Takatsuna, pictured oddly with a dappled grey steed, is in the centre; and Hatakeyama Shigetada (1164–1205) is at the right. Takatsuna reaches the further shore first, and he and Kagesue are followed by Shigetada and 500 men. The arrow flying low over the water on the right-hand sheet had been released from the far side by Yamada no Jirō, and buried itself in the brow of Shigetada's horse. The Minamoto victory that followed proved a turning point in the wars, and a decisive moment in the rise to power of the mercurial young general Minamoto no Yoshitsune (1159–89).

The mid-career works of Kuniyoshi's most significant student, Tsukioka Yoshitoshi (1839–92), were known for compositions representing bloody violence and cruelty.

Fig. 20 *Taira no Kiyomori*, no. 18 in the series *Yoshitoshi musha burui* (*Yoshitoshi's Courageous Warriors*), 1883–86 (mid-1885), *ōban* colour woodblock print, 358 x 240 mm. Artist Tsukioka Yoshitoshi (Te Papa 2016-0008-61).

However, his historical series, *Yoshitoshi musha burui* (*Yoshitoshi's Courageous Warriors*; alternatively *Yoshitoshi's Warriors Trembling with Courage*)[53] offered his viewers a more mature reflection on the military heroes of the past. Thirty-three designs were published by Kobayashi Tetsujirō between December 1883 and December 1886.[54] The Heriot collection includes portraits of the military heroes Chinzei Hachirō Tametomo (1139–70), Hino Kumakawa-maru (fourteenth century) and Taira (Sōkoku) no Kiyomori (1118–81) (Fig. 20).

Kiyomori was the leading figure in the *Heike monogatari*. Following the death of his father in 1153, he assumed leadership of the Taira clan. Kiyomori enjoyed a rapid court promotion after his victory over Minamoto forces in the 1159 Heiji Rebellion, becoming *Daijō Daijin* – chief government minister – in 1167. He died during the first years of the Genpei Wars. In 1168, Kiyomori built the Itsukushima Shrine on the waterfront at Miyajima Island. Yoshitoshi has depicted him rather imperiously here, arm raised high against the sky, brow furrowed in concentration, as he fights to hold back the setting of the sun in order to keep his promise to complete work on the shrine before sunset. His authority is emphasised by his stature, dominating the height of the composition beside the small figure of a court maiden. The striking folds of his black-and-white robes contrast with the velvet-like surfaces of intense red as he stands at the water's edge. The intensity of the foreground colour contrasts again with the softer *bokashi* 'gradations' of red, through orange and yellow, into the chill-blue evening sky. Yoshitoshi's master printers have brought out an astonishing woodgrain effect, which appears to emerge like fiery rays from the edge of the sun itself. Kiyomori's Taira family shrine at Itsukushima and its famous 'floating' torii gate are popular tourist attractions in Japan today.

Surimono

Ian Heriot maintains a particular interest in the privately commissioned, finely printed *surimono* 'rubbed thing' print format.[55] It is easy to see why. For their cultivated patrons, *surimono* informed insights into the Japanese aesthetic and poetic consciousness, resonating Heian court tastes[56] and constructing an elegance of craft in subtleties of colour and linear finesse. Thus, the nuanced tonalities of Ryūryūkyo Shinsai's (active 1799–1823) *Two Birds and the Moon* evokes chill themes of *mono no aware* melancholy. The delicate mistiness of Totoya Hokkei's (1780–1850) *Blue Landscape* draws on Chinese tastes for monochrome suggestion. In contrast, Hokkei's earthy depiction of *Two Men Dancing Next to a Geisha Playing a Samisen* is hilarious, and Utagawa

Toyohiro (1773–1829) brings a subtly wrought wit to his juxtaposition of the deities Ebisu and Benten.

Toyohiro's *surimono* (Fig. 21) was composed as a celebration of the New Year. The ox-cart provided a popular mode of transport for the Heian court aristocracy – their *kichō* (curtains of state) or *sudare* (rolled reed blinds) and decorative swathes of ribbon allowed women to be conveyed in anonymity.[57] The ox-cart and the *kumogata* mist across the top of the composition reminded Edo viewers of classical literature like *Genji monogatari* or the great collections of verse that inspired so many *surimono kyōka*, or elegant 'wild verse' *surimono*.[58] From Heian times, and well into the Edo period, the Genji and elegantly decorated ox-cart associations were synonymous with refined sensibilities of femininity. Toyohiro's Edo public would have been familiar with these themes, whose significance had been much revived through the Tokugawa nineteenth-century *kokugaku*, 'national study', initiative.[59] *Kokugaku* scholars sought to reinvigorate Japanese study of the national classics in verse, prose and historical texts. This informed the sophisticated historical and literary knowledge that educated *chōnin* could bring to their appreciations of works like this. Roger Keyes explains the context of the elegantly brushed *kyōka* at left in this composition, and provides translations of each:

The first poem mentions the legend of Rosei, a poor Chinese traveller who fell asleep while his meal was being prepared at an inn in the village of Kantan, in China. Before he was served his meal, he dreamed of a lifetime of happiness, honour and prosperity. In the second poem, 'the mother of the flowers' is the rain. There is a pun on *oru*, 'to break', *oriha*, 'to alight', and *oriori*, 'sometimes'.

Kantan no makura ni aranu yume samite eiga no hana ni niou ganjitsu

It was not until the dream of the pillow at Kantan, when I awoke from my dream on New Year's Day, I smelled the flowers of prosperity *Hana no Harundo*

Waga yado no ume wa oranedo oriha ni wa oriori konomu hana no kakasama

Although she does not pluck the blossoms of my plum tree, the mother of the flowers alights to enjoy herself sometimes *Sakuragawa Jihinari*[60]

An early source of *surimono* lay in the production of *egoyomi* 'calendar prints'. Hokusai's delectably enigmatic composition celebrating 1822, the year of the horse, is seen in Fig. 22. The tobacco-pouch clasp, printed in silver

Fig. 21 *Court Carriage*, *c.* mid-1810s, *surimono* woodblock print, 199 x 185 mm. Artist Utagawa Toyohiro (Te Papa 2016-0008-51).

Fig. 22 *Uma no senbetsu* (*Farewell Gift for the Horse*), from the series *Uma zukushi* (*A Selection of Horses*), 1822 (second-edition 'A-grade' facsimile, *c.* 1880s), *shikishiban* (blind-printed) *surimono* woodblock print, 201 x 180 mm. Artist Katsushika Hokusai (Te Papa 2016-0008-16).

pigment in the stylised shape of a reclining horse, confirms the horse theme. The attached pipe case leans on a round box of seasoned fish (*denbu*). It is labelled 'Umagae Dembu Hasegawa-chō, Togokuya', the name and address of the shop where it was sold. In the foreground is a small cloth case printed with *shikishiban* embossing. A toothpick and its carrying case rest on the box.[61]

Matthi Forrer describes the simple arrangement of Shōzo Ittei's (active 1820–30) charming *surimono* seen in Fig. 23.[62] He identifies the bowl's contents as dandelion leaves, and the textured battledore-shaped implement as a grater. The characters on the bowl are those for *fuku* (luck) and *fu* (long life), while the flowing silver emblem is that of the poetry club that assembled around Tsurunoya Osamaru (*c.* 1751–*c.* 1839). The cloth bag in the form of a monkey attached to the scissors indicates 1824, the year of the monkey. The poems are by Ki no Takane (n.d.), Numakane Jun (n.d.) and Tsurunoya. The seal at the lower left identifies the publisher Tani Seikōdō Takuboku (active 1822–31). Tani Seikōdō is unique in applying his own seal to almost every print he produced during his prolific decade of work from 1822.[63] He was remarkable for his assumption of the roles of block-cutter and printer, the refinement he brought to both crafts, and for his close relationships with the literary circles of his time.[64]

Fig. 23 *Porcelain Bowl and Scissors, Issued by Followers of the Poet Tsurunoya Osamaru*, 1824, *nishiki-e* woodblock print with metallic pigments and *shikishiban* (blind printing), 236 x 211 mm. Artist Shōzo Ittei (Te Papa 2016-0008-18).

Fig. 24 *Gourd, Butterfly and Basket*, mid- to later nineteenth century, *surimono* woodblock print, 240 x 250 mm. Artist Shibata Zeshin (Te Papa 2016-0008-63).

One of the most elegant of the Heriot *surimono*, refined and simple in its means, is Shibata Zeshin's (1807–91) undated composition of a humble gourd flask, cup and butterfly – a paean to Taoist values of living a humble life, in tune with nature and at one with the world (Fig. 24). The assurance of Zeshin's work stems from the peculiar synthesis of his early training in lacquer making, studying painting with Suzuki Nanrei (1775–1844) and Okamoto Toyohiko (1773–1845), and studying literature with Kawara Keiju (n.d.) and Rai San'yō (1780–1832). He also had good knowledge of haiku poetry and the tea ceremony.[65] The poetic simplicity of Zeshin's *surimono* and drawings was much favoured by the great French collector Henri Vever (1854–1942),[66] and their humility found parallel sympathies in the Heriots' own attitudes to *ukiyo-e* and art collecting.[67] Zeshin melded a reverence for nature, Chinese-style asymmetrical arrangements, and an elegant Maruyama-Shijō school fluidity of *gyō*, the 'semi-formal' cursive brush mark.

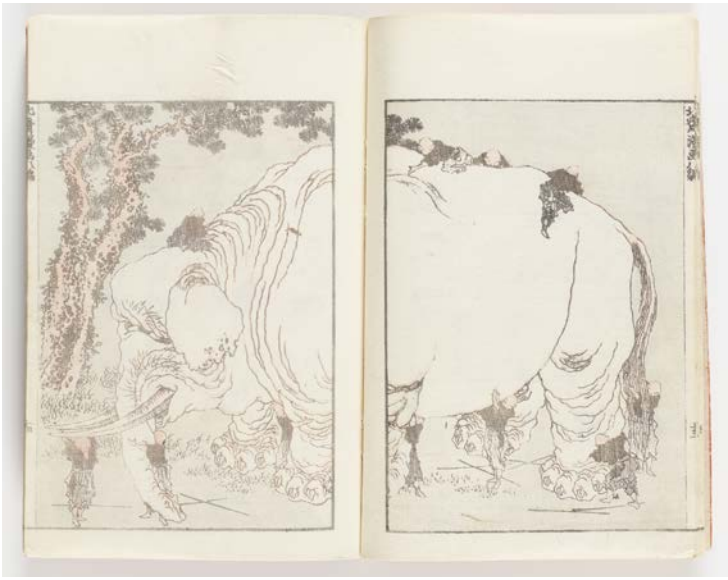

Fig. 25 (left) *Blind Men Measuring the Elephant, from Hokusai manga. Vol. VI*, 1817 (Nagoya, 1878 edition), woodblock-printed album, 226 x 310 mm (double-page spread). Artist Katsushika Hokusai (Te Papa 2016-0008-17).

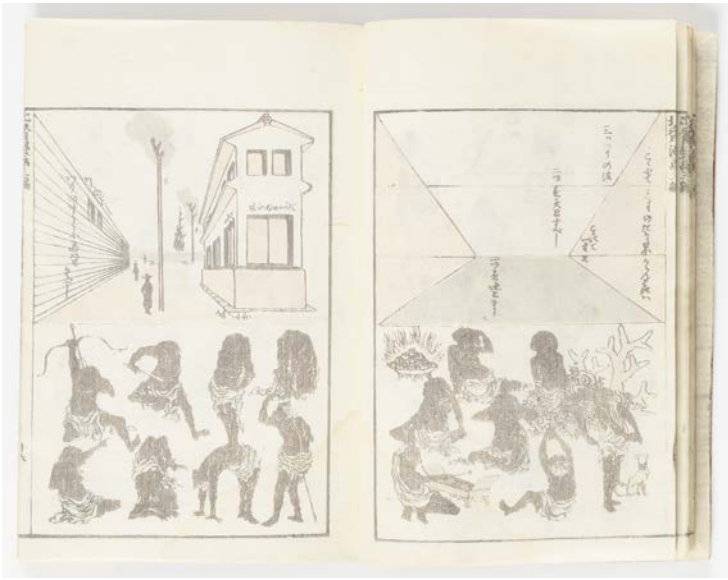

Fig. 26 (left) *Hokusai's Theories for Composition Using Linear Perspective and a 'Rule of Three'; African Figures*, from *Hokusai manga. Vol. III*, 1815 (Nagoya, 1878 edition), woodblock-printed album, 226 x 310 mm (double-page spread). Artist Katsushika Hokusai (Te Papa 2016-0008-17).

Illustrated books

The Heriots also developed a fascination for the block-printed book. Those acquired by Te Papa include six volumes of the famous *Hokusai manga*, which comprise a vast collection of approximately 4000 sketches of diverse subjects: landscapes, flora, fauna, everyday life, technology and the supernatural world. The term manga certainly did not suggest today's 'comic-book' form, but instead referred to 'random sketches' or 'a multitude of drawings of a lively, sketch type, often presented in numbers on a single page'.[68] The *Hokusai manga* were published by Eirakuya Tōshirō in Nagoya, or by Kadomuraya Jinsuke in Edo. The first volume was published in early spring 1814 under the title *Denshin kaishu* (*A primer for transmitting the true spirit*).[69] Those in the Heriot collection are of an 1878 edition of works first issued in spring 1815 (II, III), summer 1816 (V), 1817 (VI), spring 1819 (VIII) and 1819 (IX).[70]

The illustrations of the *manga* offered Hokusai's public astonishing displays of his virtuoso drawing skills. There seems little logic in their arrangements; there is no written rationale and no sense of 'homogeneity or over-all pattern'.[71] If the title of the first volume suggests some instructional intention, the subsequent issues seem to have been conceived simply as vehicles for the pictorial explorations of Hokusai's own polymathic curiosities, and published as popular visual entertainment. His illustration of blind men and an elephant (Fig. 25) reflects his breadth of interests. It draws on precedent images from Japanese artists – by Hanabusa Itchō (1652–1724), for example – but its theme of blind men touching different parts of an elephant, then disagreeing completely on the nature of the beast, originates from the

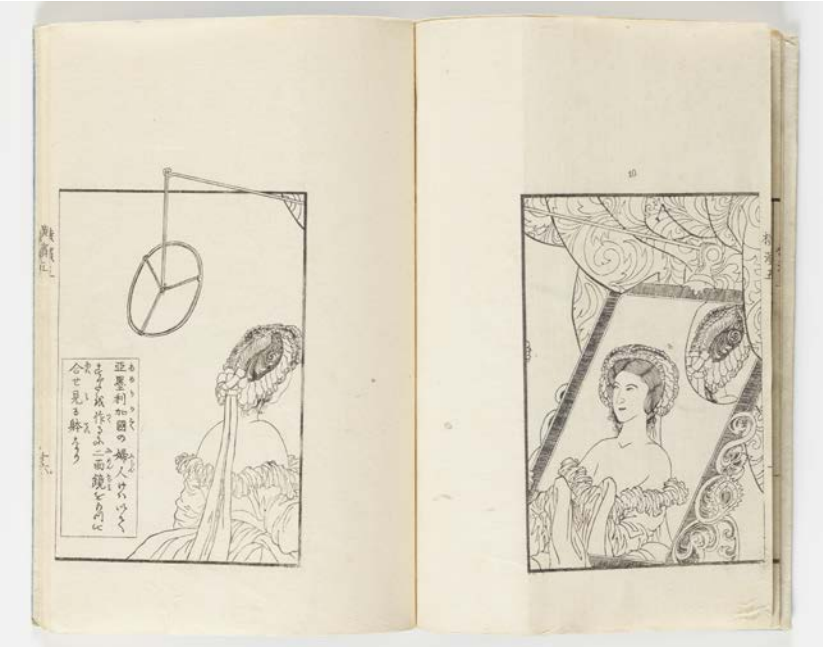

Fig. 27 *An American Woman Making Herself Up with the Aid of a Double Mirror, from Yokohama kaikō kembun-shi* (*Things seen and heard at the Yokohama Open Port*). *Vol. V*, 1865, woodblock-illustrated volume, 253 x 350 mm (double-page spread). Artist and author Gyokuransai Hashimoto (aka Utagawa Sadahide) (Te Papa 2016-0008-41).

Indian subcontinent. The theme was known in Europe and America by the nineteenth century[72] and survives today. The immediate success of Hokusai's *manga* reflects their inventive melding of humour and realism with a sense of the 'common touch' of his viewers' worlds.[73] His preoccupations with all things Japanese engaged complementary curiosities of his public. An equally random collation of views from abroad – from African figures to perspective exercises on the same double page (Fig. 26) – also provided Hokusai's public with rare insights into things from worlds beyond Japan. Conversely, the *manga* provided a source of knowledge about Japan for early European viewers following the publication of reproductions in Philipp Franz von Siebold's (1796–1866 *Nippon: Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japan* (1831).[74] Their diversity, graphic virtuosity and rich humour ensure their popularity among viewers of all nations today.

Sadahide was also greatly interested in the West. Following the second American visit to Japan in 1854, Western visitors had an increasing impact on Japanese habits – introducing horse racing (1862), for example, and rugby (1866). The first three volumes of Sadahide's *Yokohama kaikō kembun-shi* (*Observations on the opening of the Port of Yokohama*) were published in 1862 and the second three in 1865.[75] *Things seen and heard at the Yokahama open port* is a kind of guidebook detailing the commercial engagements, domestic habits and technology of the foreign residents at Yokohama. Volume 5 in the Heriot collection includes diverse views of Yokohama's 'shanty-town' streets, warehouses and shops, and its Western visitors; not always flatteringly, as images of boorish foreigners attest.[76]

Representations of Westerners at work or at home provided insights into the ways they re-created their own worlds in the Japanese settlement.[77] Sadahide's triple portrait of a Western woman *en déshabillée* (Fig. 27) adopted a voyeuristic intimacy that echoed earlier *bijin-ga* of women bathing or dressing. While the casual detail of Sadahide's view suggested some familiarity with his Western subject, he was also drawing on a long *ukiyo-e* tradition of representing women bathing or at their toilette, and on pictorial plays on woman-and-mirror themes established by Utamaro. Conversely, in most of these illustrations Sadahide adopts Western representational conventions of chiaroscuro, fine linear hatching and linear perspective.[78]

Curios: a dragon, a turtle and a rat

The collection's printed works are complemented by three unusual painted compositions, two of which are *sumi-e*, 'monochrome ink drawings'. One of the trio is a whimsical arrangement of a dragon, phoenix and flowering tendrils. Its seal, that of the important artist Kanō Tsunenobu

(1636–1713), bears witness to the maintenance of Kanō school practice throughout the Edo period. The second, by the little-known Kagoshima literati painter Taira Natasaka (1780–1850), depicts a *minogame*, or legendary tortoise, symbolic of long life.[79] The third work, by an anonymous artist, seen in Fig. 28, is more mysterious. It is a small *Yamato-e* painting on silk, apparently of a wealthy aristocrat, perhaps a *daimyō* or 'lord', but with the head of a rat. Whether it refers to a specific figure cannot be determined, but its design was unlikely intended to be insulting. This is a sophisticated work, carefully crafted, not a frivolous object or printed ephemera, and the figure itself adopts the formal dress and conventional pose of aristocratic portrait sculptures and paintings. Representations of anthropomorphic animal figures had a long, respectable, history in Japan, featuring in early *emakimono* hand scrolls like the spirited, whimsical animal tales of the *Chōjū-giga* (attributed to Toba Sōjō′ [Kukuyū], 1053–1140). Allusive animal images also populate the zodiacal cycles of the calendar. The rat, for example, was associated with Daikoku, the god of wealth. Depictions of Daikoku would have been displayed in *tokonoma* 'on rat days, months, or years of the calendrical cycles used during the Tokugawa period'.[80] Our sitter looks remarkably stately, affluent and well fed. His striped tatami mat makes a happy contrast to Kuniyoshi's Lord En'ya, seated on his white cotton quilt and performing an infinitely grimmer task (Fig. 7).

Fig. 28 *A Daimyō*, *c.* 1800–40, ink and pigment on silk, 570 x 400 mm. Artist unknown (Te Papa 2016-0008-64).

Conclusion

Curiously, perhaps, the Japanese print has held a recurrent appeal for New Zealand collectors. The earliest collections of printed volumes date from the nineteenth century; *ukiyo-e* generated immense enthusiasm through the first four decades of the twentieth century, and they experienced a re-emergence in the aftermath of the Second World War. The Heriot collection signals a much more recent, and very substantial, revival of this interest. The selection of these works – in the huge majority of instances from very limited supplies available in New Zealand since the 1980s – testifies to the collecting intelligence of Ian and Mary Heriot. In turn, the selection and acquisition of items from this remarkable local collection has transformed Te Papa's hitherto modest holdings in the area. As Ian Heriot has indicated, the pleasures generated through the last 40 years have been, in the main, privately experienced – as indeed, it had been for the earliest owners of these small, intimate works. Now, in their new home, these compositions offer opportunities to redirect their attractions to new viewers, so that they can be experienced in new contexts and curatorial combinations, thereby reviving their popularity.

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Notes

1 These works were all in the former National Museum collection, and were amalgamated in 1992, following the establishment of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. Most of the Hiroshige prints are from the series *Fifty-three Stations of the Tōkaidō Road, c.* 1838.

2 Ian Heriot, interview with Mark Stocker, Katikati, 11 June 2016.

3 See especially Richard Bullen (*ed*.), *Pleasure and play in Edo Japan*, Christchurch: Canterbury Museum and College of Arts, University of Canterbury, 2009.

4 As quoted on the *Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa* website 'Discover the collections' page in May 2017 (link no longer active).

5 *Actor Posing with a Sword, c.* 1835, *kakemono* print (Te Papa 2016-0008-31).

6 Heriot, interview.

7 Ibid.

8 Jan-Erik Nilsson, 'Gotheborg Discussion Board moderators', *in: Gotheborg antique Chinese and Japanese collectors' help and info page* [website], 1993–2014, retrieved on 17 May 2017 from http://gotheborg.com/sponsors/moderators_new.shtml.

9 Heriot, interview.

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid.

12 See Arthur Davison Ficke, *Chats on Japanese prints*, Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle, 1958; Richard Lane, *Images from the floating world: the Japanese print*, New York, NY: Putnam, 1978; and Frank Whitford, *Japanese prints and Western painters*, London: Studio Vista, 1977.

13 Heriot, interview.

14 For Beardsley and Japan, see, for example, Linda Gertner Zatlin, 'Aubrey Beardsley's "Japanese" grotesques', *Victorian Literature and Culture* 25(1), 1997, pp. 87–108. The exhibition *Aubrey Beardsley and Japan* was held at the Museum of Modern Art, Shiga, from 6 February to 27 March 2016.

15 Allen Hockley, *The prints of Isoda Koryūsai: floating world culture and its consumers in eighteenth-century Japan*, Seattle, WA, and London: University of Washington Press, 2003, p. 159.

16 Ibid., p. 3.

17 Ibid., p. 152.

18 Ibid., p. 149.

19 Ibid., p. 154.

20 Jacob Pins, *The Japanese pillar print: hashira-e*, London: Robert G. Sawers Publishing, 1982, p. 10.

21 Hockley, *Koryūsai*, p. 160.

22 Charles Baudelaire, 'The painter of modern life', *in*: Charles Baudelaire, *The painter of modern life and other essays* (*ed*. and *trs*. Jonathan Mayne), London: Phaidon Press, 1964, p. 13.

23 Helen Merritt, *Modern Japanese woodblock prints: the early years*, Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 1990, p. 4.

24 Julia Meech-Pekarik, *The world of the Meiji print: impressions of a new civilization*, New York, NY, and Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1987, p. 220.

25 Ibid., p. 221.

26 Helen Merritt and Nanako Yamada, *Woodblock kuchi-e prints: reflections of Meiji culture*, Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000, pp. 87–89.

27 Helen Merritt and Nanako Yamada, *Guide to modern Japanese woodblock prints: 1900–1975*, Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 1992, p. 90.

28 See David Bell, 'Bella King in China and Japan: travelling and collecting in the early twentieth century', *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies* 14 (2), 2012, pp. 67–85.

29 See David Bell, *Chūshingura and the floating world: the representation of Kanadehon Chūshingura in ukiyo-e*, Richmond: Japan Library, 2001; and Aleksandra Gōrlich, *The treasury of loyal retainers: the drama of the 47 ronin*, Kraków: Manggha Museum of Japanese Art and Technology, 2012.

30 Amy Reigle Newland and Joan B. Mirviss (*eds*), *Printed to perfection: twentieth-century Japanese prints from the Robert O. Muller collection*, Washington, DC, and Amsterdam: Smithsonian Institution and Hotei Publishing, 2004, p. 86.

31 Ibid., p. 90.

32 Ibid., p. 87.

33 Heriot, interview.

34 Newland and Mirviss, *Printed to perfection*, p. 112.

35 Amy R. Newland (*ed*.), *Visions of Japan: Kawase Hasui's masterpieces*, Amsterdam: Hotei Publishing, 2004, p. 143.

36 Junichi Ōkubo, 'Into the modern: landscape prints of Kobayashi Kiyochika and Kawase Hasui', *in*: Andreas Marks and Sonya Rhie Quintanilla (*eds*), *Dreams and diversions: essays on Japanese woodblock prints from the San Diego Museum of Art,* San Diego, CA: San Diego Museum of Art, p. 203.

37 Ibid., p. 188.

38 Kendall H. Brown, 'A place for poetry: *shin-hanga* landscape in modern Japan', *in* Newland (ed.), *Visions of Japan,* p. 11.

39 René C. Balcer, 'Kawase Hasui: collecting a versatile modern master', *Impressions* 34, 2013, p. 114.

40 Brown, 'A place for poetry', p. 15.

41 Andreas Marks, 'Anything that creeps and flies: natural history prints', in Marks and Quintanilla (*eds*), *Dreams and diversions,* p. 119.

42 Ibid., p. 121.

43 Newland, *Printed to perfection*, p. 30.

44 Amy R. Newland, Jan Perrée and Robert Schaap, *Crows, cranes and camellias: the natural world of Ohara Koson 1877–1945. Japanese prints from the Jan Perrée collection*, Leiden: Hotei Publishing, p. 28.

45 Newland *et al*., *Crows, cranes and camellias*, p. 19.

46 Merritt and Yamada, *Woodblock kuchi-e prints*, p. 61.

47 The authors would like to thank Dr Emerald King, Victoria University of Wellington, and Professor Takashi Shogimen, University of Otago, Dunedin, for their clarifications of the narrative content of this composition.

48 Akira Y. Yamamoto, 'Introduction', *in*: Stephen Addiss (*ed*.), *Japanese ghosts and demons*, New York, NY: George Braziller Inc., 1985, p. 11.

49 Michiko Iwasaka and Barre Toelken, *Ghosts and the Japanese: cultural experience in Japanese death legends*, Logan, UT: Utah State University Press, 1994, p. 6.

50 Joshua S. Mostow, *Pictures of the heart: the Hyakunin isshu in word and image* Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996, p. 158.

51 See Helen Craig McCullough, *The tale of the Heike*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998.

52 Ibid., p. 284.

53 See John Stevenson, *Yoshitoshi's one hundred aspects of the moon*, Leiden: Hotei Publishing, 2013, p. 41.

54 Chris Uhlenbeck and Amy R. Newland, *Yoshitoshi: masterpieces from the Ed Freis collection*, Leiden and Boston, MA: Hotei Publishing, 2011, p. 116.

55 Heriot, interview.

56 Lee Bruschke-Johnson, 'Classical themes through the prism of the "floating-world"', *in*: Charlotte van Rappard-Boon (*ed*.), *Surimono: poetry and image in Japanese prints*, Leiden and Amsterdam: Hotei Publishing and Rijksmuseum, 2000, p. 150.

57 Ibid., p. 151.

58 Roger Keyes, *The art of surimono: privately published Japanese woodblock prints in the Chester Beattie Library, Dublin*, London: Sotheby Publications, 1985, p. 394.

59 Bruschke-Johnson, 'Classical themes', p. 151.

60 Keyes, *Art of surimono*, p. 394.

61 Joan B. Mirviss, *The Frank Lloyd Wright collection of surimono*, New York, NY, and Phoenix, AZ: Weatherhill and Phoenix Art Museum, p. 239.

62 Matthi Forrer, *Surimono in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam*, Leiden: Hotei Publishing, 2012, p. 308.

63 Roger Keyes, 'Tani Seikō and his circle', *Andon* 72/73, 2002, p. 12.

64 Ibid., p. 18.

65 Keyes, *Art of surimono*, p. 503.

66 Jack Hillier, *Japanese prints and drawings from the Vever collection. Vol. 3*, London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1985, p. 990.

67 Heriot, interview.

68 Jack Hillier, *The art of the Japanese book*, London: Sotheby's Publications, 1987, p. 929.

69 Richard Lane, *Hokusai: life and work*, London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1989, p. 304.

70 Ibid., p. 305.

71 Hillier, *Japanese book*, p. 815.

72 Martin Gardner, *Famous poems from bygone days*, Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 1995, p. 124.

73 Hillier, *Japanese book*, p. 815.

74 Ibid.

75 Ibid., p. 929.

76 Ibid.

77 Meech-Pekarik, *Meiji print*, pp. 41–50.

78 Hillier, *Japanese book*, p. 926.

79 Hockley, *Koryūsai*, p. 155.

80 Ibid.

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